THE CHAHAMANAS OF JALOR

By
Dr. ASHOK

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FOREWORD

The History of the Chahamanas of Jalor is a part of the comprehensive work written by the author under the title "Disintegration of North Indian Hindu States (C 1175 to 1320 A D)" for his D Litt. Degree of the Gorakhpur University This has been revised and enlarged and will be soon in the hands of Scholars to assess its merits The Chahamanas of Jalor ruled over a petty desert state in Rajasthan, far away from the din of Political upheavals in the heart of Hindustan However, when Sultan Alauddin Khalji came to the throne in Delhi he surveyed the entire political stage of the country and decided to bring the whole of India under his supreme control Naturally the remaining Hindu States of the country fell victims to his ambitious design The imperial armies moved from Delhi to distant lands and wherever they went, destruction and demolition followed Gujrat, Chittor, Chanderi and Ranthambhore fell fighting galantly but none came to the rescue of the other Kanhadadeva, the ruler of Jalor, prided himself in his masterly isolation and witnessed the fall of the sister kingdoms with utter indifference However, his own fate was no better When Alauddin asked him for a passage through his kingdom during his march against Gujrat, he refused the request point blank Alauddin pocketted the insult and waited for an opportunity to avenge it with compound interest Thus while the Khalji army

was on its way back from Gujrat, it decided under the leadership of Ulugh Khan to punish the Chahamanas for their insolant answer and marched through the territory of Jalor It was atonce a challenge to the honour and prestige of the Chahamanas prince which he accepted in right royal Rajput fashion The war thus started between the two which dragged on for more than a decade The tiny kingdom of Jalor with its meagre resources in men and material was no match to the might of the Sultan. The Chahamanas succeeded in the initial stage of the war, obtained a part of the spoils carried from Gujrat and rescued the idol of Somanatha which was being carried to Delhi Kanhadadeva re established the idol and erected a big temple over it In the words of a modern historian ' This rescue of Somanatha forms in popular mind Kanhadadeva s best and greatest title to greatness "

The war continued year after year and Muslim generals suffered defeat one after the other The Rajputs declared a total war and every man and woman, nay, the entire nation, was in arms The Sultan's anger knew no bounds, but he felt helpless before the spirited Chahamanas who refused to bow down or lay down their arms The kingdom suffered considerable destruction and deprivation at the hands of the Muslims but its people's morale was ever so high, for they were delighted to fight for the noble cause of preserving their ancient faith, culture and civilization which were in peril However, where the mightiest of the army had failed for years to curb the pride and prestige of the prince of Jalor, treachery succeeded in laying low the fortunes of the family in a few days The Muslims won over to their side one Bika, a Dahiya Rajput, promising to

make him the ruler of Jalor on the destruction of the fort The traitor led the army in by an unfrequented, though difficult, path which had been left undefended and unmanned When Hiradevi, the traitor's wife, came to know of it, she killed her husband at once and rushed to the court to report the matter to Kanhadadeva The situation was grim and desparate and in a bold and courageous bid to dislodge the enemy several Samantas with thousands of brave Rajput soldiers lost their lives

Finding no escape from death Kanhadadeva's queens and others prepared themselves for the rite of Jauhar In the mean-time prince Viramadeva's coronation ceremony was performed and he was blessed by his mother with eternal fame Thereafter all the queens, after having taken their bath and performed the worship of Gods, ascended the pyre to be consumed by the sacred fire On that very day as many as 1584 fires were lit in which died the women of all castes to preserve their chastity and honour as also to allow their men to die martyer's death in the defence of their sacred soil

On the fifth and final day of the assault the Muslims reached the temple of Kanha Swami which they aimed to destroy Now Kanhadadeva himself along with the remnant of his chiefs prepared for the final battle of his life in a typical Rajput manner His Samantas stood by him firmly and loyally while death was staring them in their faces and lost their lives while fighting round their master Last of all fell the mighty Kanhadadeva, the last of the great Chahamanas, in the defence of his country with

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its ancient religion and culture holding aloft the highest ideals of his race

Kanhadadeva was indeed a man of character with high ideals and on question of principles he refused to compromise It was this quality as well as his high sense of duty and responsibilities that made him a real leader of men, and his followers inspite of great hardships and privations brought about by a protracted siege lasting for nearly a decade, served him loyally and faithfully upto the end and quietly and calmly laid down their lives by his side in an unequal contest where nothing but death was the only certainty As a general he was probably not inferior to any of his Hindu contemporaries To have kept fighting against the might of Sultan Alauddin almost throughout his reign was in itself a feat in which none else equalled or surpassed him In fact Kanhadadeva represented the Rajput chivalry at its best However, he had not that rare statesmanship which enables one to rise above the weaknesses and prejudices of one s age and become the founder of a new and better order He was a great man in his own way but he might have been regarded even much greater, had he combined with Ranthambhore, Chittor, Malwa and Gujrat in their common endeavour to fight Muslim aggression and thereby save his own independance and that of the rest of Hindu India

The History of Jalor is illuminating and it represents the other side of the picture conveniently ignored by Muslim historians The author deserves our heartiest congratulations for filling up this vacuum The whole description gives not only

a fascinating reading, making one, so to say, spell bound, but also provides a vivid picture of the state of affairs obtaining at the time We talk of total wars today, but it was practised centuries ago in the tiny kingdom of Jalor for over a decade by its hero Kanhadadeva who immortalised himself in the annals of time.

Dated 5 11 79

R. B. Singh

PREFACE

Originally the present work was a part of my thesis entitled "The Disintegration of North Indian Hindu States (C 1175 A D - C 1320 A D)" in two volumes submitted in 1970 for the D Litt degree of the Gorakhpur University. An attempt has been made in the present work to construct the political history of the Chahamanas of Jalor from C 1161 A D the year of the foundation of the kingdom to the fall of the dynasty in C 1311 A D The struggle of the Hindu kingdoms during the two centuries of Islam's fight for the political domination of North India is one of the least known chapters of India's Medieval History So far all writers have written the history of the Delhi Sultanate based entirely on Muslim accounts, but they have not said a word about the contemporary rulers, their successes and failures, their internecine wars leading to dynastic rivalaries and above all their stuborn resistance to the Turkish aggression

The History of the Sultanate is the history of a race of Conquerors preserved entirely in Muslim accounts and in this context only stray references have been made here and there to the Indian rulers who opposed them This deliberate attempt on the part of Muslim historians to omit altogether the part played by the Indian princes and their people is significant. Besides their superb resistance to the invasion of their country by the Turks, alien in race, religion and language, the Hindu princes had to perform

their kingly duties in accordance with the laws and customs of the country The epic struggle of the Chahamana prince Kanhadadeva of Jalor, matchless in its sublime aloofness against Alauddin Khalji, the mightiest of the Delhi Sultans, lasting for more than fifteen years, leading to enormous loss of life and property and involving a great and unparallelled sacrifice on the part of the prince and his people inhabiting the desert kingdom of Jalor with meagre resources just for the maintenance of their freedom and the preservation of their ancient faith, has been practically passed over with scant attention by these court historians

These achievements and failures of the Indian rulers contribute no less to the history of the country than the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate The process has been reversed therefore, and an attempt has been made in the following pages to present the history of the Chahamana princes of Jalor based on Hindu sources–literary and epigraphic–supplemented by Muslim accounts Among the Hindu sources the Hammira-mada-mardana of Jayasimha, the Kirtikaumudi of Somesvara, Vividhatirtha Kalpa of Jinaprabha Suri, the Khartaragachchhapattavali of Jinapala and Muhnot's Nain Si ki Khyat are important, but Kanhada-de-Prabandha of Padmanabha is of special significance for us It was composed in the middle of the 15th century A D Based, as it is, on written as well as traditional accounts at the disposal of the author, it is a reliable work on the achievements of Kanhadadeva, the Chahamana prince of Jalor, and some of its portions are corroborated by Muslim accounts as well But for this book the History of the last Chahamana ruler of Jalor would have remained incomplete.

Next, in order of importance, come several scores of inscriptions which throw a welcome light on the contemporary events These inscriptions, dealing with land grants or donations to Brahmanas, temples or places of learning, some time refer to the wars or other achievements of the princes during whose reigns they were issued

The Hindu account of the period is as important as the Muslim sources In fact each supplements the other, and the history of India can be authentic and accurate only when it draws its materials equally from both the sources Though both suffer *from the same defect, for while the Hindu books exaggerate the* achievements of the Hindu rulers, the Muslim accounts indulge no less in exaggerating the achievements of the Sultans of Delhi in their aggressive wars against the Hindus However by means of comparison and contrast these defects can be easily set right and an approximately correct picture can be drawn Among the chief Muslim sources mention can be made of the Taj ul-Maasir of Hasan Nizami, Khazainul Futuh of Amir Khusrau, Tarikh i-Firoz Shahi of Ziauddin Barni, Haji-ud Dabir's Zafrul Vali and Tarikh-i-Firishta which provide us with considerable useful information on the subject under reference

The monograph has been devided into six chapters Chapter I deals with Kirtipala and the foundation of the kingdom of Jalor The achievements of Samarasimha have been discussed in chapter II Chapter III deals with the Chahamana kingdom of Jalor at its zenith under Udayasimha (C 1205-C 1257 A D.) Chapters IV and V deal with the reign of Chachigadeva (C 1257-A D C 1282A D) and Samantasimha (C 1282A D C 1305A D)

respectively. Chapter VI the last one deals with Kanhadadeva's clash with Alauddin Khalji and the fall of the kingdom. The special feature of the chapter is the glorious and superb resistance of the brave and illustrious Chahamana prince against the might of Alauddin Khalji, easily the most powerful Sultan of Delhi.

I consider it my bounden duty to express my profound sense of obligation and gratitude to my revered teacher Dr. R. B. Singh for contributing a very valuable Foreword for this work. I also take this opportunity to thankfully acknowledge the help I have received from Shri Ghulam Saqlain Syed in reading the proof and preparing the Index I would be however failing in my duty if I do not express my sincere thanks to all those who have rendered valuable help in various capacities Lastly I am also thankful to the Gorakhpur University for the financial assistatance rendered towards the publication of the work.

Novembar 10, 1979

Ashok K. Srivastava

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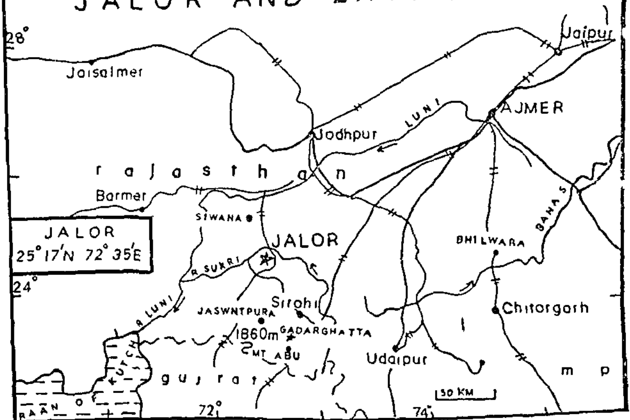
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List of Abbreviations

A S I W C	Archaeological Survey of India Anual Report Western Circle
BF	Tarikh – i – Firishta translated into English by John Briggs
B G	Bombay Gazetteer
DHNI	Dynastic History of Northern India by H C Ray
E C D	Early Chauhan Dynasties by Dr Dasharath Sharma
E D & Elliot	The History of India As Told by its own Historians.
E I	Epigraphia Indica
G O S	Gaekwad Oriental Series
I A	Indian Antiquary
M N K	Muhnot Nainsi Ki Khyat, translated by Ram Narayan Dugada Banaras
R I	Rajputana Ka Itihasa by Dr G H Ojha
R P G	Rajasthan Puratan Granthamala
S I	Sirohi Ka Itihasa by Dr G S Ojha
S J G M	Singhi Jaina Granthamala

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CHAPTER I

KIRTIPALA

(C. 1160-1182 A. D.)

Establishment of the Kingdom of Jalor

The Sonagaras, one of the twentyfour branches of the Chahamanas, were the rulers of Javalipura which is also known as Suvarnagiri or Sonagiri and it is on account of their association with Suvarnagiri[1] that they are called Sonagras. They had branched off from the line of the Chahamana kings of Naddula and are thus the descendants of king Lakshmana. It was Kirtipala[2] the son of Alhana, who at first made Suvarnagiri his seat of government. From his copper plate inscription of Nadol, issued in V. E. 1218 (c.1161 A. D.) during the reign of his father, we learn that the Rajakula Alhanadeva and Kumara Kelhanadeva

1 In the later Jain inscriptions of the descendants of Kirtipala this branch is called the Sonigaras (Nahar, P. C. : Jain Lekha-Sangraha, I, p. 235, No. 730) which may be said to have been derived form Suvarnagiri, the name of the hill fort of Jalor mentioned in some of the inscriptions of Samantasimha (1282-1302 A. D) of this branch (Ibid., p. 243, No. 903). Also see Dr. G. N. Sharma: Rajasthan Ka Itihas, Vol.I, Second Edition, 1973, p. 182.

2 Kirtipala is also known as Kitu.

were pleased to give him tweleve villages appertaining to Naddulai These were Naddulagrama Sujera Darıji, Kavilada, Sonanama, Morekera, Harvandam, Madada, Kanasuvam, Devasuri, Nadada and Mauvadi, all in the Godwad division of the former Jodhpur State.[1] Perhaps these places belonged to the district of Naddulai Muta Nainsi would have us believe that Jalor,[2] which was in the possession of a Paramara king, was seized by Kitu (Kirtipala) by winning his Pradhana a Dahiya Rajput, over to his side [3] The possession of Jalor by the Paramaras at least till 1117 A. D is supported by an unpublished inscription in the Topakhana at Jalor [4] This shows that Jalor (Javalipura) was taken possession of by Kirtipala during the reign of his father who, with the approval of Kumara Kelhana, confirmed it. In the light of this, the statement in the Sundha hill inscription that 'as a Rajesvara of Naddulai' Kirtipala took up his residence at Javalipura,[5] can only mean that he was made ruler of a portion of the kingdom by his father and he also continued to remain as such even during the reign of his brother Kelhana. Thus it is quite clear that Kirtipala took a keen interest in the administration, and got administrative

1 EI, Vol IX, pp 67-70

2 Jalor was a strong fort built on a hill about one thousand feet high It was situated on the borders of Marwar kingdom about 50 miles south-east of Sevana

3 MNK, Vol I, p. 152. According to Dr G N. Sharma, Jalor was captured by Kirtipala in about 1181 A. D Rajasthan Ka Itihas, Vol I, Second Edition, 1973 p. 182.

4 EI, Vol XI, P 74.

5 EI, Vol IX, pp. 76-77, V. 36.

experience during the life time of his father as well as under his elder brother As early as in V E 1218 (C 1161 A D) he had obtained 12 villages from his father and brother Kelhana over which he ruled Similarly, a Jain grant from Nadol, dated V E 1218 (C 1161 A D) and another Jain inscription from the temple of Saciya Mata at Osia, dated V. E 1236 (C 1179 A D) informs us that Kirtipala took part in the administration [1] This is further borne out by the fact that from this place he approved and countersigned a grant made by Ajayasi, son of Maharajaputra Kumarasi, in the year V E 1220 [2]

The term 'Rajesvara' as mentioned in the Sundha hill inscription,[3] may also mean the lord of the kingdom of Nadol, but this literal meaning of the term may not be applied here to Kirtipala who could not succeed to the throne of Nadol in the life time of his elder brother who according to a Jain inscription was in occupation of the throne of Nadol up to V E 1249 (1192 A D), which is certainly a later date by more than ten years from the date of shifting the residence to Jalor by Kirtipala [4] Thus, the term as mentioned above may also indicate that Kirtipala might have been a claiment to the throne of Nadol, but during the life time of his elder brother Kelhana this was out of question Dr Choudhary thinks that "the appropriate sense of the term may be the highest honourable title to a man of the royal family who assisted in the administration in various capacities "[5]

1 Jain Lekha Sangraha I, p 193
2 EI, Vol XIII p 208
3 EI, Vol IX, pp 76–77, V 36
4 Choudhary G C Political History of Northern India, p 159.
5 Ibid , p 160

Vicotory over the Turks

The Sundha hill inscription further tells us that he defeated a Kiratakupa chief named Asala, and at Kasahrada routed an army of the Turushkas [1] Dr Bhandarkar is inclined to identify the Kiratakupa chief Asala with the successor of Madanabrahmadeva, who is referred to in the mutilated inscription of V E 1235 (1178 A D) in the temple of Somesvara at Kiradu as a feudatory chieftain of the Chaulukya king Bhimadeva II [2] This however, is a conjecture based on the nearness of the dates of Kirtipala and Madanabrahmadeva and the identification of Kiratakupa with Kiradu about 16 miles north west of Barmer in the former Jodhpur State We know that Alhanadeva obtained Kiratakupa through the favour of Kumarapala in 1152 A D,[3] but it appears sometime afterwards it was transferred to Madanabrahmadeva or his predecessor by the Chaulukya king The place Kasahrada where he is credited to have routed an army of the Turushkas is to be identified with modern Kayadran (Sirohi) at the foot of Mount Abu[4] where Muhammad Ghori was defeated and his army faced a disaster at the hands of the Chaulukyas in 1178 A D The Prabandha Chintamani mentions the place by the name Godararaghatta [5] Kirtipala, with his elder brother Kelhana might have joined the Chaulukya forces against the common enemy *Thus it seems certain that* Kirtipala by way

1 EI Vol IX p 2.

2 Ibid, p 2

3 Ibid pp 43–46

4 EI Vol XI p 72 see also Vol IX p 73

5 SJGM, Vol I p 97

of assisting Mularaja II the Chaulukya ruler of Gujrat (1176 78 A D) must have fought with the Turushkas,[1] in the year 1178 A D

Relations with the neighbouring States

An unpublished Kumbhalagadh inscription seems to indicate that Kitu ousted the Medapata Guhila Samantasimha, but was himself driven out of the country by Kumarasimha, the younger brother of Samantasimha, who after pleasing the Gurjara king became king at Aghatapura [2] The principality assigned to Kirtipala by his father was not far from the frontiers of Mewar and Dr Ray holds that ' it is therefore quite likely that on the instructions and with assistance of Ajayapala (the Chaulukya king) Kirtipala invaded Mewar and occupied it on behalf of the Caulukya king This possibly happened sometime after C 1171 A D., the date of the Jagat inscription of Samantasimha and before C. 1179 A D the date of his Solaj inscription [3] It appears that the country was occupied by Kirtipala but his brother Kumarasimha seems to have pacified the wrath of the Chaulukya king Ajayapala and through his favour he got himself seated on the throne of Aghatapura When the peace was thus restored between the Guhilots and the Chaulukyas, the Chahamana prince quitted Mewar and returned back to his original principality Kirtipala was highly incensed by this ingratitude and partiality for his enemy and seems to have

1 Shastri D K Gujratano Madhyakal na Rajput Itihasa p 342

2 Ojha Rajaputana-ka Itihas Vol II p 451 foot-note 2

3 DHNI, Vol II p 1183

disowned the allegiance to the Chaulukya throne in the later part of his reign [1] Thus, Kirtipala was the first Jalor ruler to initiate an anti Chaulukya policy and his successors merely followed in his footsteps [2] This fact may be corroborated by the Sundha hill inscription, according to which Kirtipala "... pierced with arrows a Kiratakuta prince by name Asala " [3] Obviously, the prince in question was a feudatory chief of the Chaulukyas of Gujrat which is borne out by Jain inscriptions that in V E 1209 and V. E 1218, its ruler recognised the suzerainty of Kumarapala[4] (C 1143-72 A D) and in V E 1235, its ruler Madanabrhmadeva acted as a feudatory chief to the Chaulukya king [5] It has been suggested that Asala was probably Madanabrahma's successor [6]

Thus, Kirtipala appears to have played a considerable part in the politics of his time His relation with his brother Kelhana continued to be cordial Dr Sharma, however, infers that "the relations between the two brothers do not seem after all to have been very cordial, and it was perhaps this fact which led Kirtipala, a man of ambitious and adventurous nature, to seek his fortunes elsewhere ' [7] He had at least three sons and a daughter whose name, according to verse 41 of the Sundha hill inscriptions, was

1 Sharma, D Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 144
2 Ibid
3 EI, Vol IX p 77, V 36
4 Nahar P C Jain Inscriptions, I, pp 252 ff
5 Madanabrahma s Inscriptions, as noticed by Dr D R Bhandarkar s Archaeological Survery of India Reports Western Circle, 1906-7, p 42 and ed ted by Bisheshwarnath Rau IA, 1933
6 Sharma D Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 144
7 Ibid , p 142

Rudaladevi, who is said to have built two temples of Siva at Javalipura The same inscription tells us of the name of his eldest son Samarasimha, and the names of the other two sons, namely, Lakhanapala and Abhayapala are inscribed in the Lalrai stone inscription,[1] dated V E 1233 (1176 A. D.) as proprietors (Bhoktri) of Sinavana to be identified with modern sonana It was one of the villages, granted by Alhana to Kirtipala who later on seems to have made it over to his sons Kirtipala received the principality of Jalor during his father's reign sometime between 1152 and 1161 A D, the date of his Nadol copper plate inscription and he continued to rule, it perhaps, as for as 1182 A. D the first known date of his successor. He was, however, not an independent ruler but held his fief at least during the early part of his reign through the favour of his elder brother Kelhana

He seems to have been an ambitious as well as an overwhelmingly resourceful person, and in the words of Dr Sharma "It was no mean achievement for a younger brother to have carved out for himself a kingdom in that hilly tract of Mewar which in future resisted for years even the great might of the Mughals of Delhi, and the achievement was still greater when, on being compelled by circumstances to evacuate it, he had resource and courage enough to lay the foundations of another kingdom almost equal in strength to that ruled over by his elder brother Kelhana, and that too most probably by acting against the mighty Chaulukya power which had shown its strength not merely by evicting Kirtipala from Mewar, but had also measured swords successfully

1 EI, Vol XI, p. 43

with the redoubtable Muhammad Ghori "[1] He was an orthodox Hindu tolerant to other sects as well This may be borne out by his Nadol grant dated 1161 A D wherein he has been shown as worshipping Surya and Mahesvara, offering oblations to the sacred fire and then granting a benefaction to the Jain temple of Mahavira [2] According to Nainsi, 'Kitu was a great Rajput ' [3]

1 ECD, p 145
2 EI Vol IX, pp 67-70
3 MNK Vol I, p 152

CHAPTER II

SAMARASIMHA

(C. 1182–1204 A. D.)

Kirtipala was followed on the throne by his son Samarasimha for whose reign we have the following inscriptions:

(i) The Jalor stone inscription, dated V. E. 1239 (1182 A D), was found at Jalor in the former Jodhpur State and is incised on two lintels, one above the other of the principal cloister of an old mosque, now used as a Topakhana. The inscription upon the upper lintel contains three lines, while the lower one is composed of four lines. It refers to the reign of Maharaja Samarasimha, son of Maharaja Kirtipaladeva. It further speaks of the Rajapura (Rajaputra) Jojala as Rajya-Chintaka, i. e., apparently a person looking after the administration of the kingdom. By the way we are told that he held in scorn the multitude of the unsettled tribes of the whole district of Pilvahika.[1] This Jojala is said to be the maternal uncle of Samarasimha.[2]

(ii) The Jalor stone inscription, dated V. E. 1242 (1185 A. D.) is incised on a lintel in the second storey over the Mihrab of the same mosque referred to above. It contains four different,

1 Pilvahika is to be identified with Pilva in the Parbatsar District of the Jodhpur State, on the frontiers of the Kishengarh State and the Taskaras (the unsettled tribes) are perhaps the Bavris who still abound there.

2 EI, Vol. XI, pp. 52–54.

statements, all pertaining to the same temple The first part speaks of a certain temple, known as Kuvara Vihara built by Kum aarpala, upon the fort of Kanchanagiri belonging to Javalipura in V E 1221 (*Javalipuriva Kanchanagiri gadhasyopari in line one*) The second part says that it was rebuilt in V E 1242 by *Bhandari* Yasovira in accordance with the orders of Maharaja Samarasi mhadeva, the ornament of the Chahamana family and the lord of the country.[1]

He is also referred to in the Sundha hill inscription which says that he built extensive ramparts on the Kanakachala and founded the town Samarapura, after having weighed himself against gold The town of Samarapura remains unidentified and the Kanakachala, according to Dr Ojha, is the name of the fort of Jalor which is locally known as Sonalgadh and in an inscription, dated V. E 1221, referred to above, it is called Kanchan agadh The fort is about 800 yards in length and 400 yards in width and crowns a rocky hill of an altitude of 1200 feet above the surrounding plain [2] But according to Dr Bhandarkar, however, Kanchanagiri or Kanakachal was the name of the hill on which the fort of Jalor is situated [3] It appears that when Kirtipala carved out this principality for himself and established his capital at Jalor, he commenced the fortification But as he did not live long after, the work was completed by his son Samarasimha

1 EI, Vol XI, pp 54-55

2 Ibid, Vol IX p 73

3 Ibid, Vol XI, p 74

The following inscriptions which supply us with no dynastic ames and which, according to Dr Bhandarkar, belong to the eign of Guhilaputra Samantasimha, deserve a careful examiation They are

(a) The Uthman inscription, dated V E 1256, referring to the reign of Samantasimha [1]

(b) The Bamnera inscription No 1, dated V E 1238, referring to the reign of Maharaja Samantasimha [2]

(c) The Bamnera inscription No 2, dated 1258, referring to the reign of the same king [3]

(d) The Sanderav inscription, dated V E 1258, incised on a Jain temple and referring to the reign of the same king [4]

(e) The Bamnera inscription No 3, dated V E 1258 and referring to the reign of the same king [5]

If these inscriptions belong to the reign of the Guhilot king Samantasimha, as Dr Bhandarkar thinks, then his reign would cover the period at least up to 1202 A D, which does not seem probable, for we have seen above that when he was ousted from Mewar by Kirtipala, his younger brother, after pleasing the Gurjara king, became king at Aghatapura. Secondly, the prov-

1 ASI WC, 1916-17, pp 65-66

2 Ibid, 1908-9 p 52 Also EI, Vol XX, p 64

3 EI Vol. XX, No 445

4 Ibid, No 446

5 Ibid, No 447

enance of the inscriptions is an important factor to be considered The two places, namely, Bamnera and Sanderav, were in the possession of the Chahamanas as the Bamnera grant[1] and the sanderav stone inscription[2] of the Chahamana king Kelhana clearly reveal, and the Guhilots nowhere claim their possession of the same The dates from 1199 to 1202 A D as supplied by these inscriptions may be the Chahamana Maharaja Samarasimha's dates, for the earliest known date of his successor is 1205 A D[3] Under the circumstances it may be quite reasonable to accept these inscriptions as belonging to the reign of the Chahamana king Samarasimha.

The Kadi grant of Bhimadeva II of Gujrat, dated 1206 A D, tells us that he married Liladevi, the daughter of the Chahu (mana) Rana (ka) Samarasimha[4] This Chahu (mana) Rana (ka) is none other than the Chahamana king Samarasimha of Jalor We have seen above that Maharaja Samarasimha had two brothers and a sister And besides his daughter Liladevi he had at least two sons namely, Manavasimha the elder, and Udayasimha, the younger son[5] We learn from Dr Ojha that the book of the Badavas of Sirohi records that Manava was the younger son and he is inclined to aceept this on the ground that Udayasimha ascended the throne after Samarasimha[6] Muta

1 Ibid, Vol XIII pp 20-11
2 Ibid, Vol IX pp 46-47
3 BG, Vol I Part I, pp 474-76
4 IA, Vol VI, p 195 Plate II I ne I
5 EI Vol IX, p 80
6 Ojha, SI, p 180

Nainsi, howere, places one Arisimha between Samarasimha and Udayasimha.[1] It is likely that the name of Arisimha stands for that of Manavasimha who had, by virtue of his birth the real claim to the throne, but was ousted by Udayasimha. Dr. Ray also opines that possibly this brother (Manavasimha) preceded Udayasimha as ruler of Jalor.[2] As the earliest known date of his son and successor Udayasimha is 1202 A. D, and the last known date of Samarasimha is 1202 A. D., we may conclude that he died sometime between these two dates.

We learn from the Sundha hill inscription that Samarasimha was fond of buildings, friendly towards the learned and very charitable. He is said to have given many tuladanas[3] built many ramparts on the Kanakachala or Suvarnagiri at Jalor, equipped them with machines of many kinds, store houses and battlements of the Vidyapati type.[4] He also built a town named Samarapura and beautified it with gardens.[5] His sister Rudaladevi was equally found of buildings and built two temples dedicated to Siva[6] Similarly, Bhandari Yasovira, repaired the temple called Kunwaravihara by his orders.[7]

1 MNK, Vol I, p. 153

2 DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1126

3 Verse, 40.

4 Ibid, Verse 38.

5 Ibid, Verse 40.

6 Ibid, Verse 41.

7 Jalor inscription No. 2 edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, EI, Vol. XI, p. 53.

CHAPTER III

UDAYASIMHA

(C. 1204–1257 A. D.)

Udayasimha,[1] the second son, came to the throne sometime before 1205 A. D We have the following inscriptions for his reign :

(1) The Bhinmal stone inscription (No. 1). It is incised on the upper face of the lower square section of a pillar of the temple of Jagaswami at Bhinmal and opens with 'Om Namah Suryaya' and is dated V. E. 1262 (1205 A. D.). It refers itself to the prosperous and victorious reign of Maharajadhiraja Sri Udayasimhadeva in the term of office of the Pancha, consisting of Asvapsi and others and records the grant of 40 dramma, by Vilhaka at the Yatra festival, *to be deposited in the*

1 *Belonging to the reign of* Udayasimba we have four Bhinmal inscriptions dated in the Vikrama year 1262, 1274, 1305 and 1306, respectively. Dated in the last of these years is also a manuscript of the Nirbhayabhimavyayoga of Ramchandra (quoted by Dr D.R. Bhandarkar, EI, Vol. XI, p. 76). On the basis of these records, the latest date of Udayasimha was fixed approximately V. 1306. But recently the discovery of the Kharataragachchhapattavali begun by Jinapala and continued by his successors enable us to push forward the date by nearly eight years Quoted by Sharma, D. : Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 148 Thus Dr. Sharma concludes that Udayasimha might have ruled for nearly 52 years (Ibid).

treasury of god Jagaswami, and also another grant of 15 drammas by one Madraka.[1]

(2) The Bhinmal stone inscription (No, 2), dated V. E. 1274 (1217 A. D.), is incised on a pillar on the west face of the third right hand pillar in Baraji's rest house at Bhinmal. It refers to the reign of the same as in No. 1, during the term of office of the Pancha consisting of Sa. Depala and others. It records a grant for the offering of Naivedya to the god Jagaswami.[2]

(3) The Bhinmal stone inscription (No. 3) dated V. E. 1305 (1248 A. D.) is incised on the south face of the fifth right pillar on the right hand of Baraji's rest house at Bhinmal and refers itself to the reign of the same as in No. 1, during the term of office of the Pancha consisting of Mahant Gajasimha and other. It records the grant of 50 drammas deposited in the treasury of the god Jagaswami at the Asvin festival.[3]

(4) The Bhinmal stone inscription (No. 4). It is found in the walled enclosure of the temple of Nilakantha Mahadeva, about a mile from Bhinmal in the Jaswantpur District of the former Jodhpur State. It is dated V. E. 1306 (1249 A. D). It refers to Maharajadhiraja Sri Udayasimhadeva and the Pancha, consisting of Mahanta Gajasimha and others appointed by him, was

1 BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 474-7, No. VII.

2 Ibid, pp. 475-76, No. VIII.

3 Ibid., pp. 476-77, No. IX.

exercising local authority at Srimala The object of the grant is to record two benefactions 40 drammas were deposited in the treasury of of the god Jagaswami, the Surya divinity of Srimala by two brothers, Mathura Kayastha by caste and 15 drammas by one Tathaka on the same day for his spiritual merit [1]

He is also referred to in the Sundha hill inscription, according to which he ruled the glorious Naddula, the glorious Javalipura Mandavyapura, Vagbhatameru, Surachanda, Ratahrada, Kheda, Ramasainya, Srimala, Ratnapura, Satyapura and other places His queen was Prahladavadevi who bore him two sons, Chachigadeva and Chamundaraja Regarding his exploits the inscription states that he curbed the pride of the Turuska, was not to be conquered by the Gurjara king and put an end to Sindhuraja He was a scholar conversant with the great works of Bharata[2] (Bharata's Natyasastra) and others He built two Siva temples at Javalipura [3] Of these places Naddula, Javalipura and Mandavyapura are obviously Nadol, Jalor and Mandor respectively, the last about 6 miles north of Jodhpur Vagbhatamera is Badmer, not, however, the place which goes at present by the name, but Juna Badmer or simply Juna, as it is also called, about 12 miles south-west of modern Badmer [4] Surach-

1 EI, Vol XI, pp 55–57

2 Dr D Sharma however, translates the word 'Bharatamukha Mahagrantha' of the verse (46) as Mahabharata on account of the accompanying word *Mahagrantha* (*Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p 155 and also footnote 55)

3 EI, Vol IX, p 73

4 Dr Sharma identifies it with Badmer proper (Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 148)

anda is Surachand in the Sanchor District and Ratahrada has its name still surviving in Raddhada, by which the district round about Nagargudha in Mallani is still popularly known Khedu is Kher in Mallani, the ancient capital of the province Ramasainya, Srimala, Ratnapura and Satyapura are Ramsen, Bhinmal, Ratanpur and Sanchor, respectively Up to the time of Samarasimha the principality of Jalor had been confined to the Jalor District and the territory intervening between it and Kiradu, but with the coming of Udayasimha on the throne the kingdom seems to have extended considerably After Kelhana the kingdom of Naddula had broken into pieces and a major portion of it now formed the part of Jalor kingdom Most of the places mentioned above were formerly in the possession of the Nadoliya branch Nadol, the very seat of their government, which was conquered first by the Muslims and then by the Guhilot king Jaitrasimha, was now in his possession Mandvyapura was ruled at least up to 1193 A D by one Sodhaladeva, the son of Kelhana, but the mighty arms of Udayasimha apparently conquered it

The Sundha hill inscription also speaks of Udayasimha as having put and end to Sindhuraja and as not having been conquered by the Gurjara king Dr H C Ray points out that "the word Sindhu raja may also mean king of Sindhu which country was not very far from the boundary of Udayasimha's kingdom "[1] But Dr D R Bhandarkar tries to identify him with the prince of that name, belonging to the branch of the Lata Chahamanas, whose son Sankha[2] was defeated near Cambay by Vastupala during

1 DHNI, Vol II, p 1129, foot-note 12.

2 Sankha was also Known as Sangramasimha.

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1 EI, Vol. XI, pp. 55–57.

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3 EI, Vol. IX, p. 73.

4 Dr. Sharma identifies it with Badmer proper (Early Chauhan Dynas-

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1 DHNI, Vol II, p 1123, foot-note 12.

2 Sankha was also Known as Sangramasimha.

the Vaghela king Lavanaprasada's reign [1] The struggle against the Gurjara king who could not conquer Udayasimha doubtless, refers to the fact mentioned in the Kirtikaumudi that four kings from Marwar conspired to march against Lavanaprasada, while on the south the Yadava sovereign Singhana was marching against him In this battle Udayasimha, the chief of the Marwar confederacy, though wounded on the head by Lavanaprasada, seems to have secured the victory, for even the pro-Chaulukya Kirtikaumudi has to admit that "Lavanaprasada, though still sore and hostile at heart, had to return to his capital, concluding a treaty with these heroic rulers on account of the troubles caused to his relatives and the public' [2] A few yaars later Lavanaprasada's son Viradhavala had also been placed almost in the same predicament, for we learn from the Hammira-Mada-Mardana that Singhana again marched against him on one side, the Turushka called Milacchikara on the other, and Devapala, the king of Malwa, on the third The kings of Marudesa were on the point of joining the Turushka army, when Viradhavala at once marched and won them over to his side The name of these kings, as mentioned by the Kavya are Somasimha, Udayasimha and Dharavarsha Of these Udayasimha is undoubtedly the king of

1 EI, Vol XI, p 75

This identification, however, does not appear to be convincing on the ground that Sindhuraja of the Chahamana family of Lata had been slain by the Yadava ruler Simhana of Deogiri in a battle on the banks of the Narmada (Sharma D Early Chauhan Dynasties p 16 and also foot-note 13)

2 Kirti kaumudi, IV, 67.

Jalor[1] The same Kavya further informs us that Virama, the eldest son of Viradhavala, was married with the daughter of Udayasimha and who was ultimately murdered in the Chahamana court at the instigation of Vastupala the Minister of the Dholaka chief So, this marriage appears to have been arranged to reconcile the Chahamana and the Vaghela kings of their hostilities However, as the Sundha hill inscription rightly puts it, the Chahamana king remained "invincible for the lords of the Gurjara kingdom "[2]

Conflict with the Turks

As Udayasimha grew in strength and his territories extended including even some places which had been occupied by the Turks, a conflict with the Turks became inevitable The Tawarikh-i-Firishta refers to one of his early conflicts with the Turks in these words "Soon after this event, Oodye-Sa, the tributary raja of Jalwur, having refused to make the usual payments, the king was induced to march and reduce him to obedience "[3] The king referred to is doubtless Shamsu-d din Iltutmish and 'Oodye-Sa' is Udayasimha, the king of Jalor Hasan Nizami, the contemporary historian at the Delhi Court, in his Taju-l Ma asir, records the capture of Jalor sometime between 1211 and 1216 A D. and says, "After sometime, they represented to his Majesty that the inhabitants of the fort of Jalewar (Jalor) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, and once or twice mention of the evil deeds and impr-

1 EI, Vol. XI, pp 75-76
2 Ibid, Vol IX, p 78, Verse 46.
3 BF, Vol I, p 207

oprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne Shamsu-d din accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by a number of the pillars of the State, such as Ruknu-d din Hamzi Izzu-d din Bakhtiar Nasiru-d din Mardan Shah, Nasiru-d din Ali and Badru-d din Saukartigin, valiant men and skilful archers who could in a dark night hit with their arrows the mirror on the forehead of an elephant The king took his way towards Jalewar by the aid of God, and by reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet providential design

Udi Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jalewar, an exceedingly strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror. When the place was invested by Shamsu-d din, Udi Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished He came, with his head and feet naked, and placed his forehead on the earth and was received with favour The Sultan granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rai presented respectfully an hundred camels and twenty horses, in the name of tribute and after the custome of service, the Sultan then returned to Delhi "[1]

From this account it is apparent that Udayasimha, after his full preparations to defy the mighty Sultan of Delhi was out to

1 ED, Vol II, pp 235-36.

avenge the tyranny and destruction perpetuated on the Hindus by Shahabuddin Ghori, and when an opportunity was offered after the death of the latter in 1210 A.D., he commenced his attack on the Muslims. This was reported to Iltutmish when he took the reign of government at Delhi in 1211 A. D., and he led the expedition against Udayasimha. But he does not appear to have been quite successful in his design. Hasan Nizami himself decribes the difficulties of the invasion and his statement does not credit the Sultan to have destroyed any temple of the Hindus or plundered the fort of Jalor, as was always the case with the Muslim invaders of the day. His sudden return with a hundred camels and twenty horses only as persents in the name of tribute from such a powerful ruler seems to indicate perhaps his honourable retreat, and even though he was successful at all in reducing Jalor, he does not appear to have made Udayasimha weak in any way.

But this was perhaps the beginning of the struggle and sometime in 1221 A. D. when Iltutmish again assumed the offensive against Rajasthan and Gujrat, Viradhavala Vaghela of Dholaka and his High Minister Vastupala orgainsed a confederacy of Hindu rulers to oppose the Sultan. Udayasimha was one of the members of the league. This apparently frightened the Delhi Sultan who, after having realised the difficulty of facing this formidable league consisting of Viradhavala of Gajrat and Udayasimha, Somasimha and Dharavansha of Marwar, quietly withdrew without a fight.[1] Iltutmish led yet one more expedi-

1 Hammira-Madā-Mardana (GOS), pp. II and 21-24. Also See Sharma, D. : *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 152.

tion against Udayasimha We learn from Minhaj that *in 624 A H (1227 A D.)*, "he (Altamash) attacked the fort of Mandur in the Siwalik hills, there also God bestowed victory *on him*, and much plunder fell into the hands of his followers "[1] This Mandur is apparently Mandor or Mandavyapura which was then in the possession of Udayasimha

Hindu accounts, however, give a different story The Sundha hill inscription credits Udayasimha to have curbed the power of the Turushkas [2] Muta Nainsi tells us that Sultan Jalaluddin attacked Jalor but was defeated and driven back and to bear witness to his statement he quotes a well prevalent Doha "The water which the Asuras (the Muslims) had drunk from lake Sundara with their mouths was taken by the ruler Udaya out of the eyes of their (grief-stricken) wives "[3] The same stanza has been quoted with slight variation in the Puratanaprabandha Sangrah [4] We are told that *after having conquered Gurjaratra* the Turk army quenched its thirst in the Sundara lake and halted at the village of Sirana Then the Rawal Udayasimha defeated them in the field of battle and a chief, Malik Aibak by name,

1 Elliot, Vol II, p 325

2 EI, Vol IX, p 78 Verse 46

3 सुन्दर सुर असुरह दले, जल पीयो ववणेह ।
ऊदै नरपत काढियो नर्स नारी नयणह ॥
MNK Vol 1, p 133

4 सुन्दर सरि असुराह दलि, जलु पीयउं वयणहि ।
ऊदयनरिंदहिं कड्ढिउ, तह नारी नयणहिं ॥
SJGM Vol II, p 50

was slain.[1] Nainsi gives the date of this battle in V 1298 (1241 A D) and the name of the invader as Jalaluddin [2] According to Puratana Prabandha Sangraha, Sultan Jalaluddin could not stand the stigma of defeat and again in V 1310 (1253 A D) on the 5th day of the month of Masha, himself led the army of invasion, and, after having taken his residence at Suvarnagiri laid mines to blast the fort Fearing that the fort might fall as a result of this mining operation, Uayasimha asked Rajputra Bapada to negotiate with the Sultan who demanded 36 lacs of drammas and the son of his minister Yasavira as hostage The Sultan returned back after compliance of the terms of the treaty and the Rawal rebuilt the undermined walls of the fort [3]

Sultan Jalaluddin of the statement may refer either to Sultan Shamsu-d din Iltumish himself or to his son Jalaluddin [4] In the latter case, the army of invasion might have been led by Jalaluddin Then there is the question of dates These dates do not fall in the reign of Iltutmish, although they are parts of the reign of Udayasimha It is quite likely that these dates are not correctly recorded But in case they are correct, they may refer to some subsequent invasion of Jalor which have not been recorded by Muslim historians Thus the Hindu and Muslim accounts differ widely and it is a difficult problem to come to

1 SJGM Vol. II, p 50

2 MNK, Vol I, p 153

3 SJGM, Vol 11, pp 50 51

4 For identification of Jalalu-d din *See* author's D Litt Thesis 'Disintegration of North Indian Hindu States (1175 132) A D) Vol I, (Gorakhpur University, 1970 unpublished)' pp 174 176

any definite conclusion in face of these conflicting reports. But all the same it may be concluded that in spite of his repeated attempts Shamsu d din Iltutmish could not reduce the kingdom of Jalor and had to content himself, with only a small present and Udayasimha, in the midst of occasional outbursts of hostilities, was as strong as ever Thus Udayasimha not only extended the boundaries of the Jalor kingdom but also raised the prestige, power and political status of the Chahmanas of Jalor "Perhaps" according to Dr Dasharatha Sharma "Northern India had not then any ruler mightier than Udayasimha."[1]

His queen Prahladanadevi bore him two sons, namely Chachigadeva and Chamundaraja and from the Bhinmal inscription, dated V E 1334, we learn that he had at least one more son Vahadasimha [2] He had a daughter also who was married with Viramadeva, the son of the Vaghela king Viradhavala The reign of Udayasimha was a long one His earliest known dat is 1205 A D and the latest, according to his Bhinmal inscription, is 1249 A D The Nirbhaya bhimavyayoga is also dated in the V E 1306 (1249 A D) in the victorious reign of Udayasimha [3] But as the Kharataragachchhapttavali contains two notices of his reign in V E 1310 and 1314 (1253 and 1257 A D),[4] he might have ruled up to 1257 A D or slightly more, enjoying a long reign of more than 52 years

1 ECD, p 155
2 SJGM, Vol II, p 50
3 *Dr Peterson's First Report (1882 83), App, p. 81.*
4 Sharma, D : Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 148

CHAPTER IV

CHACHIGADEVA

(1257-1282 A. D.)

Udayasimha's eldest son Chachigadeva succeeded him on the throne. For the reign of this king we have the following inscriptions :

(1) The Sundha hill stone inscription. This famous inscription, which has been so far a valuable source of information to us, is on two stones which were found on the Sundha hill, about 10 miles north of Jaswantpur in the Jaswantpur District of the former Jodhpur State. The first stone has 26 lines and the second 24 lines of writing and they contain 59 verses in all including the prose passage counted as a verse. The primary object of the inscription is to glorify the Chahamana chief Chachigadeva during whose reign it was composed and for whom it furnishes a date in the month of Vaisakha of V. year 1319, falling in about 1262 A. D. Fortunately the author has used the occasion to give a account of the Chahamanas of Naddula, which is of considerable importance and interest.

(2) The Kareda inscription. It was found by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar at Sevadi, but originally it was lying at Kareda in Mewar, doubtless Karaheda mentioned therein. It bears the

date V E 1326 (1269 A D) and refers itself to the reign of Chachigadeva [1]

(3) The Bhinmal stone inscription (No 1) It is incised on the south face of the lower square section of the western side of the north pair of dome pillars of Jagaswamin's temple at Bhinmal It is dated (V) S 1330 (C 1274 A D) It records some donations to the god Jagaswamin by one Subhata for the spiritual benefit of Rajadhiraja Udayasimha and himself [2]

(4) The Bhinmal stone inscription (No 2) It is incised on a fallen pillar to the west of Ghazni Khan's tomb on the bank of the Jaikop lake at Bhinmal and contains 25 lines of writing It is dated V E 1333 (1277 A D) at the holy Srimala in the prosperous and victorious reign of Maharajakula Sri Chachig adeva, during the term of office of the Pancha consisting of Mahattama Gajasimha and others It registers some grant by Subhata the leading Kayastha of the Naigama family and the officer of Sri Satyapur Batnapur Latahrada for worship and service to the Tirthankara Mahavira [3]

(5) The Bhinmal stone inscription (No 3) It is incised on the north face of the lower square section of the eastern of the north pair of dome pillars of the temple of Jagaswàmin at Bhinmal, and contains 13 lines It is dated V E 1334 (C 1278

1 EI, Vol XI, pp 76-77

2 BG Vol I, Part I pp. 478-80 As Its date indicates this record belongs obviously to the reign of Chachigadeva though it does not mention his name

3 Ibid pp 480-81

A. D) in the reign of the same as in No. 2 in the term of office of the Pancha consisting of Maha .. .. .(gaja .. .. ..Siha and the rest appointed in the treasury of the god Jagaswamin for the god Jagaswamin for the spiritual benefit of Sri Chamundaraja.[1]

We have a fourth Bhinmal inscription[2] belonging to his reign which is dated V. S. 1328 (1271 A. D.). Besides there are two more inscriptions - Jalor inscription[3] dated V. S 1323 (1266 A. D) and Ratnapur inscription[4] dated V. S. 1333 (1276 A D.). The latter two inscriptions give the name of his prime-minister as Sri Jakahadeva (Jakha).[5]

These eight inscriptions range between V.E. 1319 (1262 A.D) and 1334 (1278 A. D). However, the record of a 'Partishtha' at Jalor, dated (V) 1316 states that Padru and Muliga put a gold cupola and gold dhvaja on the temple of Santinatha at Suvarnagiri in the reign of Chachigadeva.[6] So the earliest known date of this prince bring V. S. 1316 (1259 A. D.) and the last known date of his father 1314 (1257 A. D.), Chachigadeva must have come to the throne in V. 1315 (1258 A. D) if not earlier. He must have died before V. 1339 (1282 A. D), the earliest known date of his son and successor.

1 Ibid., pp. 481-83.

2 EI, Vol XI, p 77.

3 Ibid.

4 Jain Lekna Sangraha, Vol. I, p 240, No 902.

5 Ibid, p. 248, No. 935.

6 Sharma, D Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 156.

Verses 47-59 of the Sundha hill inscription refer to the achievements of Chachigadeva In verse 50 he has been described as "destroying the roaring Gurajara Lord Virama, hating the enemy Salya, taking exquisit delight in falling the shaking (or leaping) Pataka, depriving of his colour Sanga and thunder-belt to the *mountain - the furious Nahara* "[1]

Virama, the Vaghela prince of Dholka, was married with Udayasimha's daughter. On the news of his father's mortal illness he came to Dholaka and tried to assert his right to the throne But Vastupala proved too strong for him He secured Visaladeva's succession and forced Virama to fly from the city *Virama, thus having been defeated, went to his father-in-law* Udayasimha's house and was treacherously murdered [2] This cold-blooded murder of Virama in the house of his own father-in-law at the instigation of the Minister Vastupala and the Dholaka chief Visaladeva suggests that his death was caused for the sake of *diplomacy But this seems to have happened during his* father's reign though at the hands of Chachigadeva

As regards the hated enemy Salya, he may be, as suggested by Dr. Kielhorn and *accepted by Dr Bhandarkar, the prince of* the same name mentioned in verse 19 of the Dabhoi inscription as an enemy of Lavanaprasada [3] But here one difficulty presents itself in identifying Salya with the prince of the name in the Dabhoi inscription This prince was contemporary of Lavana-

1 EI, Vol IX, pp 71-79

2 EI, Vol XI, p 76

3 Dr. Sharma doubts the correctness of this interpretation (Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 156, foot note 3)

prasada, the grandfather of Viramadeva and as Viramadeva himself was a contemporary of Chachigadeva, his grandfather goes two generations ahead of Chachigadeva Consequently, Salya of the above inscription also becomes his senior by two generations It is more likely that the Salya of the Sundha hill inscription is the Salha of the Sanchor stone inscription of Pratapasimha dated V E. 1444 [1] According to Muta Nainsi this Salha was in the fourth generation of Vijayasimha, the founder of the Sanchor branch of the Chahamanas[2] and a brother of Kirtipala Now Chachigadeva was also in the fourth generation of Kirtipala, so the two cousins Chachigadeva and Salha[3] can easily be taken to be contemporaries We have further seen above that Sanchor formed a part of the dominion of Udayasimha, thus signifying that the Sanchor Chahamanas had been reduced to the position of feudal vassals under their cousins at Jalor Thus it is probable that Salha might have shown tendencies towards independence which Chachigadeva would have been called upon to check and thus he might have hated him as a disturber of peace in the kingdom

Chachigadeva is credited to have taken delight in felling the shaking Patuka This Patuka may be a local form of the name Pratapa According to Dr. Bhandarkar this Patuka (Batapa)

1 EI, Vol XI, pp 64-67.

2 MNK, Vol I, p 173

3 According to Nainsi this Salha fell fighting in the battle against Alauddin during the invasion of Jalor in 1311 A. D This means that Salha ruled in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and was not only a contemporary but actually a vassal of Chachigadeva MNK, Vol I, 164.

was Chachigadeva's own cousin, the son of Manavasimha,[1] who was the elder brother of Udayasimha and the rightful heir to the throne of Jalor. Dr. Sharma, however, is not inclined to accept this identification and he proposes to identify him with the Abu ruler Pratapasimha who was an important figure and who ruled at Abu up to V S 1344.[2]

Dr. Bhandarkar identifies Sanga with Sangana, as a ruler of Vanthali near Junagadh who was a brother-in-law of Viradhavala and was slain by him.[3] If this identification be correct, this must have happened during his father's time because Viradhavala predeceased Udayasimha, and in that case Chachigadeva appears to have helped his relation Viradhavala, while a Yuvaraja [4] The 'furious Nahara' of the inscription also remains unidentified Dr Sharma suggests that he might have been some Muslim general defeated either in Chachigadeva's own reign or in that of his father.[5]

In Jodhpur inscription of Rupadevi, originally found at Budhatra and now deposited at the Ajmer museum, dated V E 1340 (1284 A D) Chachigadeva is mentioned under the name Chacha in line 8 This inscription also tells us that Chacha's wife was Lakshmidevi, and that this lady bore him Rupadevi,

1 EI, Vol XI, p 76

2 Sharma, D Early Chauhan Dynasties, pp 156-57.

3 EI, Vol XI, p. 76.

4 Dr Sharma rejects this identification on the ground that when Sangana, the ruler of Vanthali, fought and lost his life, Chachigadeva must have been than a mere child (Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 157)

5 Sharma, D Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 157.

who became the wife of king Tejasimha (to whom she bore a son named Kshemasimha) and founded a well or tank in A D 1284 in the reign of the Maharajkula Samvantasimhadeva [1] This Samvantasimhadeva is none but the successor of Chachigadeva and appears to be his son, though, of course, no epigraph helps us to determine the exact relation between them Tejasimha, the son-in-law of Chachigadeva was, according to Dr G H Ojha, a Guhilaputra for whom we have the dates 1260 70 A D [2] Nainsi tells us that besides Samantasimha he had two more sons, namely, Chahadadeva and Chandra [3]

According to the Sundha hill inscription Chachigadeva remitted certain taxes at Srimala and at Ramasainya he granted funds for the god Vigrahaditya and placed a golden cupola (Kumbha) and a flag staff (dhvaja) on the temple of the god Aparajitesa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (mekhala) For the same temple he provided a hall (sala) with a car (Ratha) richly decked with precious stones He also visited the Sugandhadri (the Sundha hill) worshipped there the goddess Chamunda, known by the name Aghatesvari and at her temple established a mandapa [4]

1 EI, Vol IV, pp 312, foot note
2 Ojha, G H RI, p 462
3 MNK, Vol I, pp 153 and 166
4 EI, Vol IX, pp 71-79

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1 EI, Vol XI, p 76

2 Sharma, D Early Chauhan Dynasties, pp 156-57

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5 Sharma D Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 157

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1 EI, Vol IV, pp 312 foot note
2 Ojha, G H RI, p 462
3 MNK, Vol I, pp 153 and 166
4 EI, Vol IX pp 7 70

CHAPTER V

SAMANTASIMHA

(1282–1305 A D)

After Chachigadeva we find a king named Samantasimha (1282–1305 A D) also known as Samvantasimha and Samyantasimha, on the throne of Jalor. As we have seen above, their exact relation ship has not been decided so far by any epigraph though they appear to be father and son as the reference of his reign in the Rupadevi's Jodhpur inscription indicates that he was her brother

We have the following inscriptions for his reign

(1) The Bhinmal stone inscription, dated V. E 1339 (1233 A D), is incised on the south face of the first right pillar in the Baraji rest house at Bhinmal and refers itself to the prosperous and victorious reign of His Majesty (Maharajakula) Sri Samvantasimha in the term of office of the Pancha consisting of Maha simha and the rest appointed by him It registers two grants one by a certain Guhila Sahajapala and the other by his wife, for the spiritual benefit of their respective parents [1]

(2) The Jodhpur inscription of Rupadevi, dated V. E 1340

1 BG, Vol I, Part I, pp 483–84.

(1284 A. D.) refers itself to the reign of Maharajakula Samyantasimhadeva.[1]

(3) The Bhinmal stone inscription engraved on a stone in the ground close to the wall on the right entrance of the enclosure of the old Mahalakshmi's temple at Bhinmal. It is dated V. E. 1342 (1286 A. D.) and refers itself to the reign of as in No. 1 in the term of office of the Pancha consisting of Maha. Pandya and the rest appointed by him. It registers a grant by one Alhanasimha of Rathoda race and enjoins that whosoever might be the Selahasta (a revenue officer) he should take care of its continuity annually.[2]

(4) The Bhinmal stone Inscription, dated V. E. 1345 (1288 A. D.) is engraved on the south face of the lower square section of the north east corner pillar of the dome of the temple of Jagaswamin at Bhinmal. It refers itself to the prosperous and victorious reign of his Majesty (Maharajakula) Sri Samvantasimha in the term of office of the Pancha consisting of Maha-Chhamha and the rest appointed by him. It informs us of a golden kalasa set-up on the place of the son-god Jagaswamin and registers a grant of 200 Visalapri (ya) drammas in gold deposited in the treasury of the god Sri Jagaswamin for worship and etc.[3]

(5) The Sanchor stone insctiption. It is found at Sanchor lying loose in the prison room attached to the local katchery and

1 EI, Vol. IV, pp. 312 ff.

2 BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 484-86.

3 Ibid, pp. 436-38.

is dated V E 1345 (1288 A D). It records that Maharajakula Samvantasimhadeva was the king and at the holy place (Mahast hana) of Satyapura (Sanchor), the Pancha, consisting of the Mahanta Hira and others appointed by him, was exercising the local authority It registers an endowment and the Selahasta (revenue officer) was requested to look after this matter The Selahasta is also described to supervise personally the Yatra festival of the god Vaesvara [1]

(6) The Juna stone inscription It is found at Juna or Juna Badmer in the Mallani district, former Jodhpur State, and is engraved on a pillar in the porch of a dilapidated Jain temple The record opens with the date V. E 1352 (1295 A D) and during the victorious reign of the Maharajakula Sri Samantasimhadeva, the Mahanta Chirasela, Velaula, the Bhandari Migala and others appointed by the king to draw up documents, made a religious grant at Bahadameru to the gods Vighnamardana-Kshetrapala and Chandaraja in the temple of Adinatha The grant consisted of a paila from every incoming or outgoing caravan exceeding ten camels and twenty bullocks In default of this payment in kind, ten Bhimapriya Vimsopakas were to be charged The grant was to be distributed equally between the two gods In line 8 is recorded the approval of this cess (taga) by the Mahajanas or local bankers.[2]

(7) The Jalor stone inscription The inscription is engraved on a pillar in the Topakhana at Jalor in the north western

1 EI, Vol XI, pp 57-59

2 Ibid, pp 59-60

cloister near the south end It opens with the date V E 1353 (1296 A D) and then speaks of the Maharajakula Samantasimha as reigning at Suvarnagiri and Kanhadadeva as 'subsisting on his lotus like feet and bearing the burden of administration (Rajya-Dhura)" The object of the inscription is to state that a certain Narapati made for the spiritual welfare of his wife Nayakadevi, the grant of a bazar, the rent accruing therefrom was to be offered as the Panchami bali every year in the temple of the god Parsvanatha by the members of the goshthi Narpati in making this donation had been joined by the members of his family and by a certain Gunadhara who is called a Sanghapati and was a resident of Suvarnagiri itself [1]

(8) The Chohtan inscription This short inscription was found at Chohtan, about 30 miles south west of Badmer It opens with the date V. E 1355 (1299 A D) and refers itself the conjoint reign of the Maharajakula Sri Samvantasimhadeva and Rajan Kanhadadeva [2]

(9) Dr G H Ojha refers to one of his inscriptions dated 1302 A D [3] Besides these nine inscriptions, seven more inscriptions belonging to the reign of this king have been subsequently discovered from Bhinmal, Sirohi and other places and they carry the date of this prince to V S. 1362 (1305 A D) [4]

1 Ibid, pp 60-62.

2 Ibid., p 60, foot-note 10

3 Ojha, G H : Sirohi ka Itihas, p 183, footnote

4 Sharma, D Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 159, foot-note 1

All these records range between 1283 and 1305 A D and their find spots indicate that he ruled over almost the same territories as under his father Chachigadeva Though 1283 A D is his first known date, he appears to have come to the throne even earlier but certainly after 1278 A. D , the last known date of his predecessor. We have been above that one Kanhadadeva subsisted on his lotus like feet and bore the burden of the adm nistration of the state conjointly with Samantasimha at least from 1296 A D onward He is said to be the son of Samantasimha by Muta Nainsi and it appears he was helping his father in the administration of the kingdom as Yuvaraja or heir apparent We are further told by Nainsi that he had another son named Maladeva, also known as Muchchala Maladeva perhaps on account of his curiously big mustaches [1]

Conflict with the Khalji Sultans of Delhi

We learn from Jinaprabha Suri that in V S 1348 (1291 92 A D) Firoz Khalji, the old Sultan of Delhi, attacked Jalor and advanced as far as Sanchor However, Sarangadeva, the Vaghela king of Gujrat, came to the help of the Chahamanas of Jalor and this forced the Sultan to retreat.[2] It appears the Vaghela king must have sensed the danger to Gujrat if Sanchor was taken possession of by the Sultan and this prompted him to rush to the rescue of his neighbour

1 MNK Vol I, p 153

2 Vividhatirthakalpa (SJGM), p 30

leadership of Ulugh Khan to punish the Chahamana for his insolent answer and it marched through the territory of Jalor [1] It was atonce a challenge to the honour and prestige of the Chahamana prince which he accepted in the right royal Rajput fashion [2] In the meantime things were not going on well in the imperial army which was seething with discontent on the distribution of the plunder among the soldiers The Khalji commanders used torture and various other methobs to recover the one-fifth state share from the soldiers and made attempts to deprive them of gold, jewels and other valuables This made the soldiers desperate, and one of its section, practically mutinied under *the leadership of the neo-Muslims* [3]

Nainsi informs us that when the Khalji army reached Sakarana,[4] a village nearly eighteen miles from Jalor, the Chahamana prince sent a message through Kandhala Olecha and four other Rajputs to the Muslim general that ' You have not done well by staying at my own village under my own fort after slaying and making prisoners so many hindus and with Mahadeva (Somanatha) as your captive Do you not consider me a Rajput ?" The Rajput envoys were duly received in the camp and while moving about in the Muslim camp they eame into contact with the disaffected neo-Muslim leader Mammushah

1 Ibid, p 109.

2 Ibid, pp 112-2.

3 Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Barni Translated into English by A R Fuller and A. Khallaque, p 24, ED, Vol III, pp 163-64

4 The nam of this village, according to the Kanhadade Prabandha, was Sirana (I, 196)

(Muhammad Shah) and his brothers with whom they had some secret talk for a surprise attack on the royal army and came back to Jalor On the third day, there was a concerted attack on the Muslim army by the Hindu host on one side and the neo-Muslim leaders on the other This resulted in the killing of a large number of Muslim soldiers but somehow the king escaped [1]

The Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Ziauddin Barni also gives a detailed account of this neo-Muslim mutiny in which Nusrat Khan's brother, Malik Aizuddin and a nephew (Sister's son) of Alauddin were slain Ulugh Khan barely escaped with his life, and the neo Muslims, when they dispersed, took refuge with the *Rai s and the rebels* [2] *However, it makes no reference* to the Chahamana participation in the fight.

The Rajput soldiers obtained a part of the spoils carried from Gujrat, liberated a large number of Hindu prisoners, but, above all they rescued the idol of somanatha which was being carried to Delhi " to be trodden under the feet of the faithful "[3] Nainsi tells us that Kanhadadeva re-established the idol of somanatha at Makana and erected a big temple over it He thus saved the

1 MNK, Vol I, pp 158-59

2 Tarikh i Firoz Shahi of Barni, Translated into English by A R Fuller and A Khallaque, pp 24 25, ED, Vol III p 164 The Kanhadade Prabandha, on the other hand, speaks of the Rajput raid alone on the imperial army Apparently its author wants to give all credit to the hero of the poem for this Muslim debacle

3 Kanhadade Prabandha (1, 221-22), Ranamalla Chhanda and the Khyata speak of the rescue of the idol of Somanatha by Kanhadadeva which the Khazainul Futuh of Amir Khusrau, Tarikh i Firoz Shahi of Barni and the Vividhatirthakalpa of Jinaprabha refe to the idol being despatched to Delhi

honour of India.[1] According to the prabandha he was hailed as an incarnation of Lord Krishna[2] In fact, as observed by Dr Sharma "This rescue of Somanatha forms in the popular mind Kanhadadeva's best and greatest title to greatness."[3]

The neo-Muslim leader Mammushah (Muhammadshah) and his brother, Mir Gabharu, took shelter with Kanhadadeva. But they were in the habit of killing cows which the Hindus disliked Kanhadadeva wanted to get rid of them on this account and when they came to know of it they took leave of him and went to the court of Ranthambhor to seek shelter with its ruler Hammiradeva.[4]

1 MNK, Vol I, 159

2 Kanhadadev Prabandha (RPG), I, p 221

3 Sharma, D. Early Chauhan Dynasties p 162

4 MNK, Vol I, p 160

CHAPTER VI

KANHADADEVA

(1292-1311 A. D)

Clash with Alauddin Khalji and the Fall of Jalor

Kanhadadeva (1292-1311 A. D.) Samantasimha's son Kanhadadeva who had helped his father in the administration of the state, succeeded him on the throne He is also called the tenth Saligrama (Dasam Saligrama) and Gokulanatha [1] No inscription of Kanhadadeva has so far come to light to ascertain the date of his accession, but it seems he ascended the throne sometime in 1305 A D., the last known date of his father, though he has been referred to as Raja of Jalor by Firishta in 1304 A D The Tawarikh-i-Firishta, while speaking of the conquest of Malwa and Gujrat in 1304 A D says "Nehr Dew, Raja of Jalwar, panic-struck at the Rapid progress of Ein-ool-Moolk, surrendered the place without opposition "[2] In identifying this Nehr Dew, Munshi Devi prasad says that for " Nehr Dew ' the published persian text of the Tawarikh i-Firishta has Gatar Deo which, with a slight change of diacritical marks, can be read Kanir Dev Kanir Dev of Jalwar can be no other than Kanhadadeva, son of Samantasimha of Jalor.[3]

1 MNK, Vol I, p 155.
2 BF, Vol I, p 362
3 EI, Vol XI, p 77.

We have seen above that while Yuvaraja or heir apparent Kanhadadeva had played a leading role in resisting the Khalji emperor Alauddin He had refused not only a free passage to his armies to Gujrat but had also fought and defeated them when they had decided to return via Jalor. He had thus incurred the wrath of Alauddin Khalji who seems to have slept over the matter for nearly five years He had perhaps more urgent and weighty problems at and nearer Delhi which demanded his attention first But when he succeeded in reducing or destroying the forts of Ranthambhor, Chittor, Ujjain, Mandu, Dhara and Chanderi, which were like so many thorns in the imperial apron he set his mind to the destruction of the kingdom of Jalor which had given him a severe cause of offence a few years back The imperial army thus appeared once again in 1305 A. D before the walls of Jalor, and besieged it. Kanhadadeva was faced with a formidable foe, furious to avenge a former insult It appears, however, that the problem was solved for the time being by Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, the Khalji Commander, not only a man of sword but also of great learning and tact He seems to have induced Kanhadadeva to visit Delhi and enrol himself among its allies [1]

The imperial city of Delhi, however, failed to offer peace with honour to a proud Rajput, who had learnt to be delighted in the practice of arms Firishta, the prince of Muslim historians, says "It is related that the Raja of Jalwar, Nehr Dew (Kanir Dev), as has been stated above, resided at the court of

1 Journal of Ind History, 1929, p 369, foot note 4

forces was certainly an innovation,[1] perhaps on the part of later historians to find out an excuse for the defeat of the imperial forces by the Chahamana prince.

Muta Nainsi, however gives a slightly different version of *the resumption of the struggle with the Sultan He says that after* sometime of the first clash between the imperial army and the Chahamanas Alauddin sent for Viramadeva, the son of Kanhadadeva, at Delhi The Ravala consulted the members of his family on this matter and ultimately sent his son to Delhi Viramadeva stayed at the court for some time. One day the Sultan offered him the hands of his daughter who had fallen in love with the Chahamana prince on account of his brave deeds at the court Viramadeva could not refuse it openly and with the permission of the Sultan he went to Jalor in order to come back again with the marriage party. But this was a mere excuse to escape and when he did not return by *the appointed date, the* Sultan sent a huge army of five lacs under Mudfar Khan (Muzaffar Khan) and Dauda Khan to invade Jalor They *besieged the fort of* Jalor and the struggle continued unabated for twelve years but in the end due to treachery on the part of a Dahiya Rajput, the Chahamanas were defeated and Jalor was captured. Kanhadadeva and his son fought bravely and died[2]

1 *Dr K S Lal does not agree to* it and says that "It seems ridiculous that a concubine (slave girl) was put in command of an army constituted of brave Turkish officers and men, and they willingly served under her No contemporary historian gives this fact, and the story which appears to be nothing more than concoction of Firishtah's imagination should be summarily rejected" History of the Khaljis 1950, p 137, foot note 81.

2 MNK, Vol. I, pp 161-164.

more determined to continue the war with still greater vigour and force The Sultan continued sending contingent after contingent to jalor from month to month and from year to year for nearly five years "without being able to injure half a bridge of the fort" of jalor [1] This practically exhausted the patience of the second Alexander of the age, and at last in june, 1310 A D he himself marched at the head of the biggest army he had mustered so far, came to the fortress of Siwana (Samiyana) and invested it [2]

Sataladeva, the governor of siwana, was once more called upon to shoulder the heaviest responsibility and he faced it with the typical vigour and courage of a Rajput He knew it that his forces were no match for the innumerable Khalji hosts led by the Sultan himself, but he did not loose courage "He sent out frequent sorties, bombed the Khalji army with stones from the machines in the fort and threw down the ladders wherever the Khalji troopers tried to escalade the fort' [3] This could have made any general to loose courage, but once Alauddin personally began a siege, he rarely raised it, and in a bid to capture the fort of Siwana by assault, he constructed a pashib reaching upto its highest *point*,[4] and *guided by the traitor* Bhayala, he defiled the main tank of Siwana with cow s blood [5] This stopped the main source of water supply to the inhabitants

1 Journal of Ind History, 1929, p 377,
2 Kanhadade Prabandha (RPG No 11), II, 80-96; Khazamul Futuh, p 53 (translated by Habib)
3 Sharma, D Early Chauhan Dynastics p 164,
4 Journal of Ind History, 1929, pp 375-76
5 Kanhadade Prabandha, II, 154-158,

of the fort and further resistance became useless. Thus, in order to maintain the Rajput honour even against this heaviest odd, the Rajput women performed with smile on their faces the time-honoured practice of Jauhar and the Rajput soldiers, caring little for their lives after having bathed and smeared their fore-heads with sandal paste, put Tulasi rosaries round their necks, worshipped Saligrama, and sallied forth for the last battle, determined only to kill and to be killed in action which they considered the surest pass-port for the heavenly bliss. For three quarters of a day the battle was fought in all its fury until the last of the Rajput heroes fell fighting. Sataladeva was the foremost among the killed.[1] Amir Khusrau also admits that "the besieged were brave and haughty, and they did not fly even though their heads were cut into pieces."[2] On the morning of Tuesday, the 23rd of Rabiul Awwal, the Khalji soldiers took the dead body of Sataladeva to the Sultan and Kamaluddin won the applause of one and all for having slain him. It was perhaps he who led the final assault and after its capture the fort was renamed Khairabad.[3]

1 Ibid., 159-67.

2 Khazainul Futuh, English Translation by Muhammad Habib, p. 54, and also Khazainul Futuh, Journal of Ind. History, 1929, p. 376.

3 Ibid., pp. 3 5 and 377. Also see Khazainul Futuh, English Translation by Muhammad Habib, p. 53 [illegible]
sent a silver effigy [illegible]
neck and various ot[illegible]
restored to the lordship of the fort after the Sultan had divested it of all its riches. The account, as pointed out by Professor Habib in his notes to the Khazainul Futuh, is worng. Firishta has wrongly applied to Sataladeva the verses of the Khazainul Futuh describing actually the fate of the Rai of Warangal (Sharma, D. Early Chauhan Dynasties, p. 164, footnote 30.

We learn from Amir Khusrau that after the capture of Siwana, the Sultan returned to Delhi leaving behind instructions to his generals to devastate and subjugate the country of Marwar.[1] The instructions were followed literally and a part of the army marched towards Bahadmer and captured and sacked it.[2] Another army turned towards Sanchor and destroyed the great Jain temple of Mahavira there.[3] Bhinmal also faced the iconoclastic fury of the infuriated Muslim host. It was then, as before, a great centre of Brahmanical learning and culture, the Brahmapuri of the Chauhans. It suffered a carnage of the worst type and thousands of Brahmans were carried away as captives.[4] Dr. Sharma has rightly described that "A wave of horror and resentment must have passed through every Hindu heart, as the fleeing populace carried, far and wide, the tale of these Muslim atrocities. Kanhadadeva's sorrow was naturally greater than that of others, but other Rajasthanis also must have felt that their hearths and homes, may even their religion, lives and culture were in danger, if the Muslims were permitted to run amock like this and ravage the countryside at their sweet will. Consequently warriors of all clans from Rajasthan, and perhaps even outside it, readily responded to Kanhadadeva's call to arms, with their horses, equipment and arms they flocked to Jalor, eager to fight against the enemies of their country and their

1 Khazainul Futuh, Journal of Ind History, 1929, p. 377.

2 Kanhadade Prabandha, III, 20-21.

3 Vividhatirthakalpa, p 30 Its author Jinaprabha Suri tells us that the temple of Mahavira at Satyapura (Sanchor) was polluted by Alauddin's army and the image carried off in V. E. 1367 (1310 A. D.) (EI, Vol XI, p 78).

4 Kanhadade Prabandha, III, 24-29

culture "[1] Kanhadadeva issued orders to destroy the enemy wherever they could be found and the Hindu host, in its enthusiasm to control the fanatical fury of the Muslims, galloped on through Revanti and Dhanasa to Khudali to contact the enemy [2]

The Hindu army swooped down upon the Muslim hosts and they fled for their lives leaving behind their camp equipage, elephhants and men captured at Bhinmal, Sanchor and other places [3] In their jubilation the two Devada chiefs, Jaita and Mahipa, who had been appointed by Kanhadadeva to the chief *command*,[4] *raced back with the spoils of war to Jalor to convey* the news of this brilliant success,[5] while Lakhana Sebhata, Salha and Sobhita, the three other ganerals, with their followers stayed behind in the field of battle, and elated by their easy victory and finding that it was Amavasya day, they took off their armour and bathed in a tank nearby [6] In their jubilant mood they sounded a drum captured from the enemy [7] Malik Naib, the Muslim general, who was out for a hunt, heard the sound and hurried back to the camp which had disappeared during his absence leaving behind the dead and the wounded, and the victorious Hindu host was enjoying a glorious

1 Sharma, D Early Chauhan Dynasties, p 165.
2 Kanhadade Prabandha, III, 69-71
3 Ibid, III, 73 88
4 Ibid, III, 36.
5 Ibid, III, 88
6 Ibid., III, 89.
7 Ibid, III, 93

bath[1] The furious Muslim general pounced upon the enemy causing a bloody massacre all around. The Rajput fought to the last man and four thousand gallant soldiers with their three leaders lay dead on the field, and not even one was left to carry the tale of this carnage to Jalor[2] Malik Naib after having achieved this success carried this message to the Sultan who was highly pleased with it[3] In the meantime offensive and counter offensives on either side continued unabated and the ever victorious arms of the Sultan were still as far from success in this total war as before[4]

Alauddin then entrusted the prosecution of the war to another general named Kamaluddin and this time they made the fort of Jalor itself the target of attack It was besieged and for seven days the Muslims made all-out efforts to take the fort by assault but all their attempts were frustrated by Maladeva and Viramadeva[5] who continued their sorties against the besiegers, filled the ditches and destroyed the stockades surrounding the Muslim camp On the eighth day there was a violent conflagration by thunderstorm which completely disheartened the imperial forces and, finding their position no longer tenable, they raised the siege and retired towards Delhi[6] The Rajput forces then delivered an eight pronged attack by Maladeva, Viram-

1 Ibid III, 94–97
2 Ibid, III, 98–104
3 Ibid III, 111
4 Ibid III, 112–157
5 Younger brother and son respectively of Kanhadadeva
6 Kanhadade Prabandha, III, 160–170

adeva, Ananta Sisodia, Jaita Vaghela, Jaita Devada, Lunakarna Malhana, Jayamala and Sahajapala on one of the Muslim detachments and captured its commander Shams Khan along with his Harem and the rest fled for their lives [1]

When this news reached Delhi it roused Alauddin's anger to its highest pitch and he decided to wind up at any cost the disgraceful affair of the invasion of Jalor at the earliest and sent against Jalor an army which was more numerous and better equipped than the previous one, and it was commanded by Malik Kamaluddin, one of the best generals of the time [2] Kanhadadeva made prepartions to face this onslaught and in the meantime he sent out two forces to arrest its progress One of the armies commanded by Maladeva, his younger brother, encamped at Vadi and the other under the command of his son Viramadeva, fixed its head-quarters at Bhadrajan anb they arranged among themselves to fight the Muslim army on alternate days [3] This, no doubt, slowed down the pace of the imperial army, but all the same it moved on under the command of Kamaluddin Gurg reducing the territory they passed through and safeguarding the line of communication behind They suffered heavily in the process, but the losses of the Rajputs were also not inconsiderable [4] Ka-

1 Kanhadade Prabandha III, Firishta has perhaps ignored this unsuccessful invasion of Jalor, (BF, Vol I, p 370). Perhaps, in order to cover up the disgraceful defeat of the imperial armies the story of Gul Bihisht, the dancing girl, was invented later on It is first found in Tarikh i Alfi written in 1585 A D

2 Kanhadade Prabandha, IV, 60-87.

3 Ibid, 105-107.

4 Ibid, IV, 114-120.

nhadadeva recalled both the Rajput generals for consultation and while Maladeva was sent again to continue the fight against the Muslim, Viramadeva stayed behind at Jalor to assist his father [1] Kamaluddin gradually moved on to the walls of the fort of Jolor and laid its siege with so much vigour that nothing could be permitted to move in or out of the fort [2] The blockade was apparently meant to starve the garrison to surrender, and, in spite of Maladeva's harassing tactics outside, reinforcement continued to pour in from Delhi In the meantime a Rajput force led by Lunakarana and others made a successful daring attack on a Muslim outpost at Udalapura a suburb of Jolor and destroyed it including its commander Malik Nizamuddin.[3]

The condition of the fort inside was, however, far from bright Provisions and water supply were running short But timely rains and the offer of the Mahajanas to replenish the stores averted the danger looming large over the horizon,[4] and the fort of Jalor once more looked as invincible as ever But all of a sudden the situation took an altogether different turn and, where the mightiest of the army had failed to curb the pride and prestige of the prince of Jalor, treachery succeeded in laying low the fortune of the family in a few days The Muslims won over to their side Bika, a Dahiya Rajput, promising to make him the ruler of Jalor on the reduction of the fort The treitor led the enemy in by an unfrequented though difficult, path which had

1 Ibid, IV, 120 and 142-43

2 Ibid IV, 148-49

3 Ibid, IV, 158-62

4 Ibid, IV, 121-40

been left unprotected and unmanned. When Hiradevi, the traitor's wife, came to know of it, she killed her husdand atonce and rushed up to the court to report the matter to Kanhadadeve.[1]

The situation became desperate and in a bold and courageous bid to dislodge the enemy, Kanhadedva's Samantas like Kandhala, Kanha Ulicha, Jaita Devada, Lunakerana Malhana, Arjuna, Jaita Vaghela and others with thousands of the Rajput soldiers lost their lives.[2] Kanhadadeva's brave queens Jaitalde, Bhavalde Umade, Kamalade and others prepared for the rite of Jauhar, and prince Viramadeva's coronation ceremony was also performed and he was blessed by his mother with eternal fame.[3] Thereafter all the queens after having taken their bath and performed the worship of gods ascended the pyre to be consumed by the sacred fire.[4] On that very day as many as 1584 fires were lit in which died women of all caste[5] to preserve their chastity and honour as also to allow their men to die mertyr's death in defence of their sacred mother land.

On the fifth day of the final assault the Muslims reached the temple of Kanhasvami which they wanted to destroy.[6] Now Kanhadadeva himself along with the remenants of his chiefs prepared for the final battle of his life in the typical Rajput

1 Ibid., IV, 181-206, Nainsi also refers to the treachery of Bika Dahiya for the capture of the fort of Jalor. MNK, Vol 1, p. 164.

2 Kanhadade Prabandha, IV, 207-221.

3 Ibid., IV, 237-38.

4 Ibid., IV, 239-40.

5 Ibid., IV, 243.

6 Ibid., IV, 251.

quality as well as his high sense of duty and responsibility that made him a real leader of men and his followers, in spite of the hardships and privations brought about by a protracted siege lasting nearly for a decade, served him loyally and faithfully up to the end and quietly and calmly laid down their lives by his side in an unequal contest where nothing but death was the only certainty "As a general Kanhadadeva was not probably inferior to his Hindu contemporaries To have kept fighting against Alauddin almost throghout his reign, in spite of his (Alauddin's) immense resources, was in itself a feat None else equalled or surpassed it Brave, intrepid to a degree, and sincerely religious, Kanhadadeva represented Rajput chivalry at its best, and it is no wonder that not long after his death he was deified and regarded as an avatara of Vishnu, the destroyer of the wicked and preserver of moral order. His failure was more of a society than of an individual, of a society the members of which, with all their personal virtues, had not the political sagacity to combine and defeat the designs of a power which was swallowing up piecemeal the whole of independent India. Kanhadadeva had not that rare Statesmanship which enables one to rise above the weaknesses and prejudices of one's age, and become the founder of a new and better order He was a great man in his own way, but we should have regarded him as much greater had he combined with Ranthambhor, Malwa or Gujrat and saved thereby his own independence at that of the rest of Hindu India "[1]

1 Sharma D Early Chauhan Dynasties, pp 169-70

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* The list does not include the footnotes

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